*601 /126 cont./

da-o-sis-o-f	Meokó *	(M)	(V)

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-sis-o-f.

da-o-sis-o-f	Yeé Basúko *	(M)	(R)

* Used in reference in general form.

da-o-sis-o-f	Uaméu Majkó	(F)	(V-R)
so-o-br-o-m	Meoké *	(M)	(V)

* The term Meoké is also used in reference when Ego refers to the so-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-br-o-m.

so-o-br-o-m	Yeé Basúke *	(M)	(R)

* Used in reference in general form.

so-o-br-o-m	Uaméu Majké	(F)	(V-R)
da-o-br-o-m	Meokó *	(M)	(V)

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

da-o-br-o-m	Yeé Basúko *	(M)	(R)

* Used in reference in general form.

da-o-br-o-m	Uaméu Majkó	(F)	(V-R)

[582] [583] Note the identity between the terms for so-o-sis-o-f and so-o-br-o-m. Note the identity between the terms for da-o-sis-o-f and da-o-br-o-m. This is due to the interchange of brother with sister in cross-cousin marriages.

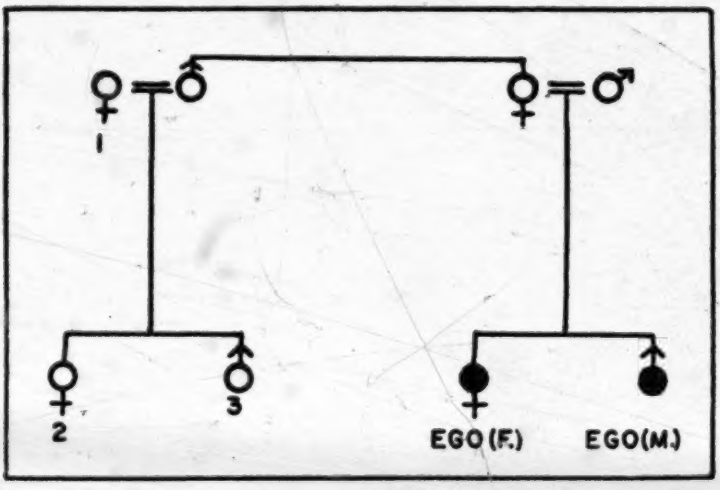
* 601 /126 cont./

[582] [583]

SPECIAL CASES OF so-o-br-o-m AND OF da-o-br-o-m.

In case the interchange of brother with sister is unilateral in cross-cousin marriages, the following happens:

/127/ Note—No. 1 is not sis-o-f of Ego.



so-o-br-o-m	Paég	(M)	(V)
so-o-br-o-m	Yeé Utamúri Majsé	(M)	(R)
so-o-br-o-m	Mejkésa Majké	(F)	(V-R)
da-o-br-o-m	Paó *	(M)	(V-R)

* This term is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

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polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Slópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huâke said to Yúpuri Baúrot "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tariano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

* 539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

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592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. 582 It is the group that is primarily interested in its realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

4: Silva--625 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/412 cont./

582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

• 583 *[192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põãperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods; this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy; there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põãperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582 13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man does not hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

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581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myẽsé.

• 583 *[192] In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

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• 583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

3) The Act of marriage.

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The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

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• 583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115]

15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/421 cont./

462 593 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 [583] The Põáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman, as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614 584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 583 584 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 583 584 574 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest [836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting [832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of [789] these is an extract of *ûwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 [601] Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEC

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marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatüyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatüyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatüyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatüyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatüyo* husband than of her *Bahükiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatüyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

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Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

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If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage them, it is believed.

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One man told me that after he had married his present wife he was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and
[582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his
[591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts
[583] in the longhouse, others occur as a result of considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential mar-
[582] riage system. There is a preference, though not an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin,
[593] particularly his mother's brother's daughter, real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other